United Nations S/PV.3622

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3622nd Meeting
Monday, 29 January 1996, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Sir John Weston	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Searle
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Lopes da Rosa
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Casardi
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shkourko
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (S/1996/45)

96-85095 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) (S/1996/45)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, document S/1996/45. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/58, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1996/34, which contains the text of a letter dated 17 January 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1039 (1996).

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has noted with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) of 22 January 1996 (S/1996/45) submitted in conformity with resolution 1006 (1995) of 28 July 1995.

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the full sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. In this context, the Council asserts that any State shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

"As the Security Council extends the mandate of UNIFIL for a further interim period on the basis of resolution 425 (1978), the Council again stresses the urgent need for the implementation of that resolution in all its aspects. It reiterates its full support for the Taif Agreement and for the continued efforts of the Lebanese Government to consolidate peace, national unity and security in the country, while successfully carrying out the reconstruction process. The Council commends the Lebanese Government for its successful effort to extend its authority in the south of the country in full coordination with UNIFIL.

"The Security Council expresses its concern over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon, regrets the loss of civilian life, and urges all parties to exercise restraint.

"The Security Council takes this opportunity to express its appreciation for the continuing efforts of

the Secretary-General and his staff in this regard and commends UNIFIL's troops and troop-contributing countries for their sacrifices and commitment to the cause of international peace and security under difficult circumstances."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1996/5.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.55 p.m.

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	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Lopes da Rosa
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Casardi
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shkourko
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Burundi

Letter dated 29 December 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/1068)

Letter dated 16 January 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/36)

96-85101 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Burundi

Letter dated 29 December 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/1068)

Letter dated 16 January 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1996/36)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Burundi and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terence (Burundi) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them documents S/1995/1068 and S/1996/36, which contain the texts of two letters, dated 29 December 1995 and 16 January 1996 respectively, from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/56, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1996/40, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 January 1996 from the Permanent Representative of Burundi to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Burundi, on whom I now call.

Mr. Terence (Burundi): First of all, it is my duty to acknowledge the special treatment you have shown me, Mr. President, during the many meetings I have had with you. This was traditional, refined British diplomacy: courtesy, civility and availability, which are the key qualities of any professional diplomat. I also recall my meetings with your predecessor, Ambassador Sergey Lavrov, to whom I am grateful for the same treatment, from which I benefited last month.

Since this is the first time this year that I have addressed the Security Council formally, it is my pleasant duty to congratulate the new members: Chile, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Poland and the Republic of Korea. We believe that Egypt, the only Arabic-speaking member of the Council, can as usual be counted upon to speak Africa's political language.

(*spoke in French*)

For almost two years now, the Security Council has been thinking long and hard about Burundi. Many reports have been submitted on my country. This is the first time that there has been a public debate about Burundi, and so I take this opportunity to give my Government's version of the facts.

First, with regard to the draft resolution, I should like to say that the Government of Burundi has every right to find out from the sponsors exactly what that text means, and it appears to us that paragraph 8 (a) causes some confusion and is open to various interpretations. Before speaking in depth on the text, I would request members to prepare their responses during my statement, so that there is no room for doubt. I therefore leave the matter there for the moment.

In fact, while the general situation is indeed serious and cause for concern, the security situation has noticeably improved compared with previous months; there are many facts to support this conclusion. Formerly, grenades were being thrown at passers-by in the markets, not in defence of any political cause, but, rather, by people indulging in banditry. The forces of law of order put a stop to this several months ago. For a long

time, armed bands terrorized several districts of the capital. On the orders of the Head of State and Government, the Army has smashed and routed these terrorists.

The sanctuary of the armed bandits in the forest surrounding the capital, who habitually created havoc in the suburbs and killed travellers or held them to ransom, was assaulted and taken by the national Army.

Three groups of terrorists — armed Burundi bandits, former Rwandan troops and the Interahamwe, their secular arm in the macabre deeds of 1994 — had earlier converged near the Province of Cibitoke, bordering on Zaire. In recent weeks the Army has rendered impotent this devilish trio of troublemakers. These desperate individuals are now only capable of engaging in sporadic attacks — not in a gallant last stand, but merely to pillage in order to survive in certain areas where there are no forces to impose order. The population is strongly demanding a military presence, as a Minister who visited the Province last week reported.

Hidden in two refugee camps in the north-east of the country, assailants have tried to sow terror by opening fire on the security forces, but the security forces within the camps in question have neutralized or put to flight the aggressors. This episode in the Burundian crisis has unfortunately resulted in a massive exodus of Rwandan refugees towards Tanzania. The commander of that military region and the representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have published a joint statement, attesting to their efforts to persuade the refugees to return to their camps.

The leader of the armed groups, Nyangoma, is vociferously disavowed in his own commune, by his own associates, who urge radio and television to announce that they are no longer in solidarity with him. This collective request at the commune level was officially made to the Government.

For two weeks now the entire Government — that is, the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and 25 Ministers, have been travelling through the country's 15 Provinces and 114 communes to rally the population to the side of the Administration and the security forces in their campaign against the violent fanatics. The most striking proof that security is guaranteed throughout the Republic is the fact that none of the hundreds of political, administrative and military authorities involved have been confronted by any of the armed bands. In short, no danger has been reported in their journey or during their public meetings throughout the 114 communes.

In the crusade by the whole Government against the armed bands, President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya held a public meeting in the Province of Kirundo, in the north of the country, on Sunday, 28 January 1996. His message focused on

> "the immediate need for cooperation between the population, the Administration and the forces of law and order".

He took this opportunity to reiterate his gratitude to the forces of law and order for their efforts in fighting the enemy in the area. He was accompanied by the President of the National Assembly and by the President of the Frodebu Party, the leader of the presidential movement.

International opinion has been polarized regarding the dangers to the security of international humanitarian organizations. A technical mission is to hasten to Burundi to evaluate the risks to United Nations personnel and facilities. During the 28 months that this crisis has lasted, no United Nations personnel have been victims of lack of security, no office in the many buildings of the United Nations system in Burundi has been damaged.

International opinion in general, and the Security Council in particular, are flooded with information about an imminent cataclysm in Burundi. As is clear from the introductory paragraph of the letter of 18 January 1996 communicating to the President of the Security Council the official position of my Government in answer to the three letters of the Secretary-General, of 29 December 1995, 3 January 1996 and 17 January 1996, the seriousness of the crisis is a reality. Nevertheless, it is far from having culminated in an apocalyptic summit. Certainly, armed bands have threatened to jeopardize the work of humanitarian organizations.

In answer to the letters from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council, an avalanche of media fantasies has descended on Burundi. The article by Thomas L. Friedman published by *The New York Times* on 24 January 1996 constitutes the archetype of this type of systematic propaganda campaign directed against my country. In his sensationalism, the author headed his article:

> "The next Rwanda — Burundi on the edge of an abyss".

Behaving like a new explorer of terra incognita, exactly 125 years after the historical meeting between Livingston and Stanley in 1871 in the outskirts of the capital of Burundi, he studs his article not only with falsehoods, but with monstrosities. Thus he claims that there are 15 per cent Tutsis and 85 per cent Hutus, while in living memory Burundi has never, unlike other States, had such a census of its national make-up. In another paragraph he claims that Hutu rebels occupy parts of the territory, while in fact these rebels and armed bands do not even occupy a single square kilometre. In yet another paragraph he claims that Mrs. Albright — when one speaks of the sun, one sees its rays, and I see her coming into the Chamber now — met with generals of the Burundi Army. I declare to the entire world that the Burundi Army has no general, unless someone was promoted in honour of Mrs. Albright's visit.

I turn to the question of political disturbances. Imputing continued lack of security to a lack of firmness on the part of the Government, several opposition political movements withdrew their confidence in the President of the Republic and several trade unions called a strike in the capital. These initiatives call for the resignation of the Head of State. On the other hand, three opposition political parties have withdrawn their backing for the attacks against the President of the Republic, and the strike had only weak support and lasted for only a few working days.

Thanks to the redoubled vigilance and effectiveness of the forces of law and order, those who wanted the President of the Republic to step down and the organizers of the strike faced the impossibility of implementing their plans. All acts of violence were nipped in the bud, and no major incidents occurred.

With respect to the analogy between Rwanda and Burundi, in certain national and international circles the tendency to raise the spectre of genocide has taken precedence over the determination or ability to root out its causes. A fundamental distinction needs to be made between the perpetrators of the genocide carried out in Rwanda and the followers or authors of that scourge in Burundi. In Rwanda, the Government and the Rwandese armed forces conceived, planned, organized and carried out the genocide against the Tutsi community. In Burundi, the country's army and the coalition Government, which represented national communities and 12 political parties, banded together against the terrorist groups that were determined to carry out Rwandese-style genocide.

However, a parallel does exist between the techniques used by the former Rwandese regime to remain in power and those employed by Burundi terrorists in their quest for such power. The favourite targets of these terrorists are the State's Convention on Government, which stipulates the division of power, the coalition Government itself and all other political institutions stemming from this multipartite agreement. The Government and the army of Burundi have together been actively working to thwart the access to, and the use of, power through the revolting practice of genocide. United Nations troops are described in glowing terms, and credence is given to the notion that they are working for the salvation of the people of Burundi. Meanwhile, however, the obvious truth is ignored: that the genocide in Rwanda was carried out in the presence of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which not only stood by, powerless, but then hastened to pack up and leave.

In his letter contained in document S/1996/36 of 16 January 1996, the Secretary-General refers to a certain difference of opinion within the Government of Burundi regarding the deployment of military contingents. This sentiment was echoed by a number of foreign dignitaries, following their separate meetings with several high officials of our country. However, the envoys of States and of international organizations must place in their proper context preferences and opinions that are merely personal in nature, when they are expressed during informal conversations — even by Heads of State or Government, their Ministers or political leaders. These differ from the collective positions of the Government, which bear an official seal. Moreover, would it not be unjust to demand of the Government of Burundi the same political miracle that has failed to materialize in all the other countries facing crises that are just as horrendous as, or even more so than, ours? According to the great German philosopher Hegel, history teaches us that man learns nothing from history. By taking the opposite tack, by affirming that man learns everything from history, each member State of the Security Council will recall a universally accepted reality.

At one time or another in the course of their historical development, all countries have had to cope with internal conflicts, with civil wars, even with inter-State or world wars. Never has full unanimity been achieved within Governments or among chiefs of staff called upon to decide on policies to be adopted or strategies to be used. In most cases, positions were so

entrenched and cacophony so dominant that, even with the survival of their nations at stake, political and military leaders were forced to resign or go into exile, or were even executed. Compared with such cases, many in number, Burundi could rather be put forward as a model. Although politically heterogeneous, since it is made up of 12 political parties, our Government has been able to retain the essential elements of solidarity. A few key facts illustrate this.

Under the aegis of the President of the Republic and the leader of the Executive branch, all Government members joined together against the warmongers. Following the example of the Head of State and the Prime Minister, every Minister has travelled all over the country in order to alert the people to the imperative need to work hand in hand for peace, together with the security forces and the public administration, against armed bands. By means of this campaign devoted to peace and security, the Government is sending the same message throughout the country. So too — contrary to certain prognostications made privately by certain foreign parties — the coalition Government unanimously rejects military intervention in Burundi, as attested to by its second message sent to the President of the Security Council on Sunday, 28 January 1996, which I transmitted to him by fax at approximately 7 p.m. yesterday.

What is the situation regarding the political parties? Through various ups and downs, the relationship between the presidential sphere of influence and the opposition since the eruption of the crisis has been uneasy, to be sure, but it has never reached breaking point or a point of no return. In fact, the parties can even be credited with a number of positive joint actions: the negotiation and conclusion of the Convention on Government; the coalition Government; negotiations between various conventional bodies; the follow-up committee; and the framework for concerted action.

It is no small accomplishment to have been able to involve political enemies in negotiations. It took six months to bring them together at the same negotiating table, as the Secretary-General rightly commented when addressing the joint meeting of the opposition parties and the presidential movement on 16 July 1995 in Bujumbura. In Burundi, political leaders, regardless of ideological allegiance, meet, talk and participate side by side at public and social events, stand next to each other and socialize at official receptions, and are often invited to visit each other in their offices and in their homes, in a mutually respectful and convivial atmosphere.

The conciliatory judgment that I am expressing regarding the political protagonists in my country is in no way designed to whitewash all of them. Unfortunately, some of them, deliberately and even viciously, out of political blindness or professional inexperience, have stood in the way of peace and the democratic process. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the political class, of civil society, of the business world, of youth, of the university community — in short, the elite of Burundi — is in fact working for their common destiny and for national reconciliation.

By highlighting the major common denominators shared by the protagonists in the political arena in Burundi, my delegation can prove that, despite appearances, the crisis has by no means reached a point of no return.

There is another reason I am dwelling on the positive aspects of the Government, the parties and their leaders: timeliness and a wish to show that the Security Council, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union, Presidents Julius Nyerere, Jimmy Carter and Amadou Toumani Toure, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and all the other facilitators have achieved successes. They need only put these successes to good use, with good intentions, to fulfil the noble and wise mission the Security Council will assign in the draft resolution before it today:

> "to facilitate a comprehensive political dialogue with the objective of promoting national reconciliation, democracy, security and the rule of law in Burundi". *(S/1996/56, para. 2)*

The paramount role among the facilitators falls to the States of the Great Lakes region. Paradoxically, in foreign circles, a certain new political approach threatens to deprive Burundi and our region of the statesman in the best position to make a broad contribution to settling the intra-Burundi conflict: His Excellency Mr. Mobutu Sese Seko. Owing to his personal prestige and his great political stature and vast political experience, President Mobutu is a true adept at regional, African and international affairs alike — whether or not his detractors agree. Hence, to try to ostracize or marginalize a political leader of Mr. Mobutu's stature — a leader who, furthermore, heads so vast a country blessed with such exceptional resources, despite its temporary problems — is both unrealistic and contrary to the norms of international law. It is unrealistic because the best rule

for converting political leaders and countries to democratic ideals is to give them access to the international hubs of democracy and to facilitate their direct personal contacts with foreign figures who are steeped in and who practice the ideas and principles of this political system. It is contrary to international law because no Government has the right to demand that all countries copy foreign democratic procedures: the hard realities on which democratization is based vary from nation to nation. Let us consider the hypothesis that the Government of Zaire, by the principle of reciprocity, were to react by forbidding access to its territory by the nationals of States that had enacted similar measures. This would be a harsh boomerang against the very authors of the measures.

In conclusion, Burundi favours the primacy of a judicious democracy. In my letter dated 18 January 1996, by which I communicated to the President of the Security Council the official position of the Government of Burundi, I stressed the need to protect the honour and prestige of the United Nations. I must reaffirm today that the primary task facing the bodies that devise and propose initiatives and those that take the decisions is to serve the United Nations as a strong shield against failure and its attendant criticism. It is therefore most important to the major actors in the United Nations hierarchy that one of the *sine qua non* conditions for ensuring the world Organization's success is the ability to give diplomacy pride of place over military action and to devise solutions commensurate with the problems. The priority concern must be to protect the United Nations and its most prestigious organ, the Security Council, against any diminution in value resulting from setbacks.

To defuse the crisis in Burundi it is important to stress the pre-eminence of judicious diplomacy over military intervention: such intervention, in nearly all cases, is nothing but a mitigation of the failure of diplomacy, which is to say, an admission of diplomatic capitulation. In broad terms we can say that it is completely in the interest of the Security Council to opt for diplomatic solutions and therefore to reinvent figures like Talleyrand, Ralph Bunche, Nelson Mandela, Henry Kissinger, Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin: in other words, prodigies who are able when necessary to work political and diplomatic miracles.

I wish to note that I shall be obliged to ask to speak on the draft resolution if the way it is interpreted should appear to penalize Burundi or undermine its national sovereignty.

The President: I thank the representative of Burundi for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): As this is the first time my delegation has addressed the Council under your presidency, Sir, we wish to join other delegations in congratulating you on your work this month. We wish also to convey our thanks to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, for the way in which he guided the work of the Council in December 1995.

Let me also congratulate the new members of the Council, all of which are friends of my country: Chile, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Poland and the Republic of Korea. We welcome them to the Council. We shall be counting on them.

My delegation asked to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the draft resolution before it because we believe that the work the Council is doing is useful for defusing the tense situation prevailing in the Great Lakes region. We commend all members of the Council for the present initiative.

We cannot fail to congratulate the Secretary-General on his perseverance and insight on this matter.

The situation in Burundi calls for strong medicine from the international community. We cannot hide our heads in the sand: there is a problem. We must accept this, and seek solutions. The situation in Burundi is complex, to be sure, but that situation cannot be addressed separately from that prevailing in one of the neighbouring countries.

That is why Zaire believes that the draft resolution before the Council today is an important step towards applying the much-vaunted concept of preventive diplomacy. Zaire endorses the appeal addressed to all political factions in Burundi to apply, implement and respect in good faith the Convention of Government of 10 September 1994, which is a programme that was freely devised and agreed to by the people of Burundi to help their country emerge from this persistent crisis.

But the solutions proposed have all proved insufficient to bring the Burundi people the peace to which they aspire. On the basis of this acknowledgement of failure, Zaire strongly supports the draft resolution before us, and we believe it constitutes a solution that, if it had been used before, would have made it possible to save thousands of the human lives that have been lost.

In accordance with the draft resolution before us, which

> "*Requests* the Secretary-General, in consultation as appropriate with the Organization of African Unity and with Member States concerned, to consider what further steps of a preventive nature may be necessary in order to avoid the situation deteriorating further, and to develop contingency plans as appropriate", *(S/1996/56, para. 5)*

Zaire is at the disposal of the Secretary-General so that we can explore more deeply with him what measures should be proposed, and I confirm here that my country will cooperate fully in the formulation of plans, if there are any plans to be formulated.

Zaire is an important partner in the Great Lakes region, and we must say that in the quest for solutions to the crisis afflicting that region, Zaire is loath to be presented with any *faits accomplis*. As to paragraph 8 of the draft resolution, which envisages the adoption of measures under the United Nations Charter, Zaire wishes to state to the Council that, if in the light of the report awaited from the Secretary-General such measures are adopted pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, Zaire will respect them.

Let me conclude by saying that we are in a situation in which peace can easily give way to war, leading to thousands of deaths. By way of evidence for this, it is enough to note the bellicose inclinations that can be seen in the region. Every day there are killings. It is up to our international community, therefore, to impose this peace — by force if need be — upon those who violate it.

The President: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Casardi (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia associate themselves with this statement.

The European Union remains deeply concerned by the continuing violence in Burundi and hopes that the spirit of reconciliation can be renewed in the country. The Union will continue to support the efforts undertaken by the United Nations to resolve the crisis and welcomes regional efforts, in particular the action undertaken by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The European Union emphasizes that it is willing to assist in the recovery of Burundi, in particular by supporting the specific measures to promote peace and reconciliation between the various groups due to be implemented by the Burundi authorities, as provided for in the Convention of Government. The Union would point out that only political solutions will enable a permanent end to be put to the conflict in that country. We believe it is an absolute priority to search for every available negotiating channel.

At this stage, coordinated action is needed by the international community to relaunch political dialogue and break the cycle of violence and instability. We reiterate our support for the idea of an increased and active international presence in Burundi that is both political and humanitarian. In this regard, the role of personalities from Africa and other regions acting as mediators or facilitators is crucial.

In Burundi there are moderate forces open to dialogue that should be encouraged. The more radical forces should be persuaded that dialogue is the only viable option. They must be warned that the international community is ready to adopt adequate measures to prevent the country from plunging into chaos and anarchy and measures against those individuals who refuse peaceful dialogue.

There is a need for a gradual approach to the deepening of the crisis in Burundi. At this moment the mediation and facilitation action of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, of the Organization of African Unity, of the European Union and of political personalities must be supported with every means possible. We are convinced that these actions could also benefit from increased pressure on the parties.

The draft resolution that the Security Council is ready to adopt reflects, in our opinion, the need to send a strong warning signal to the protagonists of the crisis: that the Security Council is ready to examine and eventually impose concrete measures to contain the

deterioration of the situation and prevent a further destabilization of the country.

The European Union reiterates its belief in the need to call for a conference on the Great Lakes Region, under the aegis of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, in order to find comprehensive answers to the problems of the entire area. I wish also to point out that the European Union is in the process of appointing a special envoy for the Great Lakes region in order to increase its presence and contribute even more to the search for a peaceful and long-lasting solution to the many problems affecting the region.

The President: The representative of Burundi has asked to speak. I call on the representative of Burundi.

Mr. Terence (Burundi) *(interpretation from French)*: At the beginning of my statement, I requested the honour of stating the position of Burundi since it was not possible for me to obtain an exact interpretation of what has become paragraph 8 (a). Since draft resolution S/1996/56 relates to Burundi, my Government has the right to ask the sponsors of the text what its exact meaning is so that Burundi will know what it is dealing with. In Burundi's view, paragraph 8 (a) may be somewhat confusing and susceptible to various interpretations. Since the Security Council is supporting all the State institutions established by the Convention of Government — and, thus, is supporting first and foremost the Government — it would be contradictory to threaten an arms embargo while that Government is making superhuman efforts to restore peace and security.

On the other hand, the Security Council would be acting consistently not only by threatening but by immediately decreeing a ban on the delivery of all illegal weapons to those who disturb peace and security and all fanatical adherents of violence. Treating the Government on an equal footing with such persons and penalizing it for its determination to neutralize outlaws would be to turn the world on its head and to anger and further traumatize the defenders of peace; it would also lead precisely to outcomes that we seek to prevent. For the sake of its own credibility, the Security Council should refrain from behaving like a kind of bogeyman and avoid adopting measures that would violate Burundi's national sovereignty and the United Nations Charter.

For all of these reasons, my Government appeals to the Security Council to amend the disputed paragraph. If it does not do so, Burundi will oppose it and feel itself in no way bound by the subparagraph in question. We feel that there is a strange paradox here. In this draft resolution, the Security Council remains silent on the needs for which my Government requested the assistance of the United Nations system and the international community. These needs are listed in the letter of 18 January 1996 that I addressed to the President of the Security Council on behalf of my Government.

It is true that the draft resolution focuses on reactivating the dialogue between the various political partners. My Government welcomes that deeming it to be a positive approach. I therefore reiterate my Government's appeal for an interpretation of paragraph 8 (a) on the

> "ban on the supply of all arms and related *matériel* to Burundi". (*S/1996/56, para. 8 (a)*)

We stress that phrase in particular because it would be strange to treat a lawful Government, one endeavouring to establish peace and security, on the same footing as the perpetrators of the violence that is threatening the peace.

The President: As I said at the outset, the Council is meeting today in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, which, as the Permanent Representative of Burundi was generous enough to point out earlier on, included consultations with him. I think that at this stage the Council is fully conversant with the view on this matter expressed again today by the Permanent Representative of Burundi. In the light of that, it is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is do decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Whether we like it or not, Burundi has been bleeding for some time now. There were at first conflicting reports and denials from Bujumbura about what was actually happening, but the international community is increasingly unanimous in its assessment of the frightening and deteriorating security situation in that country.

The authorities in Bujumbura are finding it increasingly difficult to protect the lives of their people, and they have our sympathies. The political leaders and parties accuse each other of "ethnic cleansing", and, by their own admission, the country is in a state of civil war, as the Secretary-General's letter contained in document S/1996/36 clearly states. The political atmosphere has been poisoned by extremist views that threaten to destroy national institutions, and political discourse is characterized by incitement to hatred and violence.

Botswana is deeply disturbed by these developments. We are convinced that the international community can no longer watch in an impassive manner the human tragedy that is unfolding in Burundi. Something needs to be done, and done urgently, at the political and diplomatic levels to arrest the situation before it gets totally out of control.

The draft resolution which the Security Council is about to adopt is direct and unambiguous. It calls upon the people of Burundi to enter into serious and meaningful negotiations to bring an end to the daily killings and to establish conditions conducive to national reconciliation, democracy and the rule of law. It is important that Burundians take the message seriously and begin to create conditions that would enable them to enter into a comprehensive political dialogue without further delay.

The international community has long realized that the people of Burundi cannot reach political accommodation by themselves. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union and the facilitators appointed by the Cairo Conference of Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region, held on 29 November 1995, stand ready to assist them. The people of Burundi should take the opportunity presented by this international goodwill to promote national healing and reconciliation, democracy and the state of law.

Operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution mandates the Secretary-General to develop contingency plans to enable the Security Council to respond timeously and effectively should the security situation in the country so demand. It is important that the international community, especially member States of the Organization of African Unity, render the Secretary-General all assistance while he develops the contingency plan, but on the understanding that the international community will not leave the problem of Burundi to Africa alone.

The situation in Burundi threatens regional peace and stability, and it therefore calls for the urgent attention of the Security Council. In any case, any action that would be considered appropriate in Burundi would require the provision of substantial financial and logistical resources that would not be readily available in Africa. We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General concerning the outcome of his consultations with Member States and the OAU, as stated in operative paragraph 7. But, as operative paragraph 8 (a) and (b) clearly indicates, the Security Council will in no way wait for the Secretary-General's report before considering developments in Burundi. It is the understanding of my delegation that the Security Council will be informed, if necessary on a daily basis, about developments in Burundi, so that measures envisaged under operative paragraph 8 (a) and (b) can be imposed as the situation dictates.

Botswana attaches the utmost importance to the security of international personnel, who are doing a commendable job under trying circumstances in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Burundians. The Secretary-General's letter contained in document S/1996/36 indicates that any interruption in the delivery of humanitarian assistance could have far-reaching consequences for human lives and population movements. We therefore appeal to the Government of Burundi to cooperate with the Secretary-General's technical security mission. The outcome of the mission's work is important to the continuation of humanitarian operations, which are so vital to the well-being of the people of Burundi.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The draft resolution before the Security Council today on the situation in Burundi reflects the grave concern of the international community over the very fragile conditions in that country, which is friendly towards Egypt and enjoys bonds with it that date back to the dawn of history.

The adoption of the draft resolution will affirm that the international community has actually derived benefit from the lessons of the recent past and is convinced that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure: had we moved at the right time within the ambit of preventive diplomacy, we could have prevented catastrophes such as those that have afflicted the Great Lakes region of Africa for about two years now, with Rwanda still suffering their scourge.

The efforts by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative in Burundi, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), its military observers, the European Union and many prominent people on the African and

international scenes affirm that the international community is fully resolved to prevent a repetition of the internal strife that has taken place in several African countries in the past few years, damaging their national unity and preventing the peoples of Africa from giving their full concentration to achieving economic development and joining in the march of progress.

In this regard, on 29 November last Egypt hosted a conference, in Cairo, on ways and means of underpinning stability in the Great Lakes region.

Egypt will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council, thus underscoring its keen interest in maintaining Burundi's national unity and stability, and law and order in that country and in the Great Lakes region.

We urge all parties to exercise restraint and to refrain from any act of violence as necessary conditions for allowing a national dialogue to begin in which all elements in society will take part with a view to achieving national reconciliation, security and democracy for Burundi. We hope that the comprehensive report to be submitted to the Council by the Secretary-General under the terms of operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution will contain encouraging elements showing that national dialogue has actually begun, so that the international community can continue its support for Burundi.

In conclusion, we also hope that security and protection for United Nations personnel and members of the international relief organizations will be assured, in order to ensure that humanitarian assistance to Burundi continues to flow.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): My delegation would like first to express its appreciation to the authors for presenting the draft resolution now before the Council on the critical situation in Burundi. We believe that the submission of this draft, which was in response to the recommendations of the Secretary-General set out in his letter of 29 December 1995 (S/1995/1068), is both timely and appropriate if Burundi is to escape the tragic and horrible fate suffered by Rwanda.

It would be remiss of my delegation to fail to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to Mr. Julius Nyerere for his observations on and assessment of the situation in Burundi, which he shared with all the members of the Council under the Arrias formula.

From the various reports made available to it, the Council is fully aware of the deteriorating security situation now facing Burundi, which is marked by the persistence of violence and an escalation in human rights violations, which have had very adverse effects and brought international humanitarian assistance to a halt. There have been tragic incidents, including the destruction of economic assets and infrastructure, about which the Indonesian delegation cannot but express its deep concern.

In the light of these so destructive and alarming developments, my delegation fully concurs with the view that there is an urgent need to defuse the situation. We agree with the Secretary-General's observation that failure to do so would result in further destabilization, not only in Burundi but also in the entire Great Lakes region. My delegation is therefore in favour of the early adoption of the draft resolution so that a repetition of the tragic events that occurred in Rwanda may be avoided, averting an explosion into ethnic violence on a massive scale.

In reaffirming my delegation's full support for the Convention of Government, I can say also that we fully support and concur with the appeal to all the parties and leaders in Burundi to take all necessary steps towards an earnest dialogue to resolve their differences, and to discard notions of violence and brutality. Dialogue between the parties and all the leaders in Burundi is, in our opinion, of paramount importance in this regard, and should be urgently pursued. In this connection, the commendable efforts by the Secretary-General and others to promote and facilitate the emergence of this kind of comprehensive dialogue deserve our strong and unequivocal support.

Having said that, my delegation wishes nevertheless to make some brief comments about subparagraph (a) of operative paragraph 8, concerning the imposition of travel restrictions. It has always been our firm conviction that selective sanctions are not appropriate measures for resolving conflicts such as the one in Burundi. Although at the moment the behaviour of certain individuals can be construed as exacerbating tensions and conflict, the real possibility exists that at some future time they may play an important role in reaching a political solution; thus, the premature imposition of sanctions would serve only to antagonize the perpetrators even further and lead them to create obstacles to attaining peace and national reconciliation.

In conclusion, while we note that the Convention of Government is coming under increasing attack, my

delegation wishes to reiterate that implementation of the provisions of the Convention constitutes a sound basis for promoting a political dialogue and national debate, as a means of fostering national reconciliation, that actively seeks the constructive participation of all segments of Burundi's political spectrum. For, in the final analysis, responsibility for attaining peace and national reconciliation in Burundi rests with Burundi's people and leaders themselves.

In the light of these observations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the Council.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Since October 1993, the political situation in Burundi has been turbulent and unstable, the security and humanitarian situations have further worsened and there has been an increasing outflow of refugees. This is not only detrimental to economic recovery and reconstruction, but also poses a threat to peace and stability in the region. The Chinese Government is deeply concerned.

The international community, particularly the United Nations and the relevant regional organizations, have made untiring efforts to achieve an early settlement of the question of Burundi. The Secretary-General and his Special Representative have themselves been to Bujumbura for talks with the parties concerned. The Security Council has dispatched to Burundi two fact-finding missions, which have provided firsthand material to give us a thorough understanding of the situation in Burundi.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has also offered its good offices and mediation, and taken a number of political and diplomatic initiatives. At the thirty-first ordinary session of the OAU Assembly, Heads of State and Government held special discussions and decided to take a number of measures to do with the question of Burundi. The former President of Tanzania, Mr. Nyerere, has also been to Burundi, by invitation, as a mediator and to offer his good offices with a view to finding a political solution to the Burundi question. We appreciate and support these efforts.

Despite the efforts made by the international community, the situation in the Great Lakes region remains precarious. The outflow of refugees from Burundi to its neighbouring countries is still going on. Therefore, the international community, including the United Nations, has the responsibility to continue to do its utmost to help the parties in Burundi conduct extensive dialogue, so as to build mutual trust and achieve national reconciliation.

The draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council demonstrates the concern of the international community over the situation in Burundi. It is also a component of international efforts to bring about stability in Burundi. We hope that the adoption of this draft resolution will truly promote dialogue among the parties in Burundi so that their hatred and differences will be removed and the foundation for national reconciliation will thus be laid. Therefore, we will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The Chinese Government and people have all along followed closely the developments in Burundi and have deeply sympathized with the people of Burundi in their sufferings. We have taken an active part in the United Nations efforts on the question of Burundi and, within our capacity, have provided material assistance to Burundi through bilateral channels.

In our view, the final settlement of the question of Burundi must depend on the Burundi people themselves. We therefore urge the parties in the country to take into account State and national interests, start a broad-based dialogue as soon as possible and implement in earnest the relevant resolutions of the Council so as to create conditions for national reconciliation at an early date. We also hope that the Secretary-General will solicit a wide range of opinions, including those of the Burundi Government, when making relevant recommendations.

We welcome further efforts to be made by the neighbours of Burundi and regional organizations to help the people of Burundi achieve national reconciliation at an early date and bring about peace and stability in the region.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras)(*interpretation from Spanish*): Since the *coup d'état* of October 1993, the situation in Burundi has been steadily deteriorating. The central aspect of the crisis continues to be the mutual mistrust between the Hutu and Tutsi groups. There is widespread fear that this mistrust and the actions of extremists could lead inevitably to civil war, unless a broad-based political dialogue is soon established in that country to promote national reconciliation, democracy, security and law, and unless ways are found to put an end to the impunity that has held sway for so long.

That political dialogue should take place with all sectors prepared to talk: political parties, recognized or not, the armed forces, civil society and the church. Although it is up to the Burundis to resolve their national problems, we believe that the commitment and participation of the international community is essential to establish a general framework for reconciliation. Accordingly, we should recognize the efforts being made by the Organization of African Unity, the European Union and the facilitators.

In Burundi there are various problems that must be resolved. First, there must be an end to impunity. That is one of the main factors that cause the continuous violation of human rights, and we therefore believe there is an urgent need to strengthen the judicial system. Secondly, the system of security and domestic order must be strengthened; the responsibility of the various authorities entrusted with maintaining order and domestic security must be clearly delineated, and the authorities must be trained in the field of human rights so that a climate of better understanding and tolerance can exist in the country. Moreover, all activities that incite violence and ethnic hatred and that heighten tensions must come to a halt, and the role played by the media must be strictly monitored. If we wish to prevent the tragedy of Rwanda from taking place in Burundi, the international community must contribute to creating mechanisms designed to foster confidence and to promote acceptance of the ethnic composition of the Burundi population. All efforts to bring an end to the crisis should enjoy the full support of the international community and should be accompanied by the necessary resources to meet the goals of national reconciliation, reconstruction and economic rehabilitation in Burundi. Above all, we must recognize that the peace and stability of Burundi are also the peace and stability of the whole Great Lakes region.

My delegation shares the concern of the members of this Council at the steady deterioration of the situation in Burundi, and we reiterate that we must spare no effort to promote dialogue and reconciliation in that country. But at the same time, we regret the treatment given the international humanitarian assistance personnel working in that country. As the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, reported, the continuation of humanitarian aid is essential to attend to the needs of the Burundis and the refugees, who for more than two years have been affected by turbulence in the region. It is impossible to conceive of a moment when, for reasons relating to the security of personnel responsible for humanitarian activities, these activities have to be suspended, thus creating a true emergency situation. My delegation therefore agrees with the decision to send a technical mission to Burundi to study, present security arrangements for United Nations personnel and facilities, with a view to improving them. We urge the Burundi authorities and security forces to cooperate with that technical mission.

To conclude, my delegation wishes to appeal to all those responsible for the deterioration of the situation in Burundi to participate in a constructive spirit in the broad political dialogue, referred to in the draft resolution we are going to adopt; we will vote in favour of it.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): Unfortunately, indications are that Burundi is moving towards an extremely dangerous situation. The gravity of the situation has now been confirmed by the firsthand assessments of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata, and by Ambassador Albright of the United States. Indeed, the capability of the Burundi people and leadership for self-government is being tested.

The latest developments in Burundi are a matter of serious concern to the international community. We condemn those responsible for the violence and strongly urge all concerned in Burundi to desist from acts of violence.

We pay special tribute to the international humanitarian personnel on the ground for the dedication and commitment with which they are carrying out their mission. We also acknowledge the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in maintaining military observers and strengthening the civilian component of its Mission in Burundi under extremely difficult conditions. It must be recognized that the OAU's military presence on the ground has made a significant contribution in deterring a broader tragedy in Burundi to date.

As we are well aware, this dismal situation in Burundi is of the Burundi leaders' own making, and, therefore, the Burundi leaders, in particular, those of the extremist elements who incite violence, are ultimately responsible for the consequences.

None the less, given the urgency of the situation and the potential human consequences of a further deterioration of the crisis, as well as the far-reaching implications for the stability of the entire Great Lakes region, the international community cannot stand idly by.

It has the moral responsibility to help Burundi's people and leaders restore peace and stability in the country. That is why my Government is persuaded that it is time for the Security Council to act.

In this connection, there are three broad objectives the Council should try to accomplish in the context of preventive diplomacy, as advanced by the Secretary-General in his Agenda for Peace.

The first is to demonstrate the firm resolve of the international community not to tolerate any further deterioration of the situation and to send a clear warning to those who encourage violence in Burundi of the possible consequences of underestimating the determination of the international community. In this regard, we share the urgency of developing contingency plans.

Secondly, the Council should ensure the security of the international humanitarian personnel on the ground so that relief efforts may continue unhindered. We welcome the Secretary-General's timely action of dispatching a technical security mission to Burundi to examine ways of improving existing security arrangements. We look forward to a positive outcome of this mission. We also emphasize the importance of closer cooperation between the United Nations and the military observers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), recommended by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The Burundi authorities should be served stern notice that they are responsible for the security of the international personnel operating in that country.

Thirdly, the Council should also address, in a longer-term time-frame, the fundamental causes of the crisis by promoting dialogue and national reconciliation across the whole political spectrum in Burundi. We welcome and encourage the efforts of the OAU, the European Union and the facilitators appointed by the Cairo Conference of Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region, held last November. While commending the ongoing efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff to this end, we encourage them to work closely with the OAU and to build upon the endeavours undertaken in the regional and subregional contexts.

It must be borne in mind, in this connection, that the initiatives of the international community cannot replace the efforts of the Burundi leaders themselves towards genuine national reconciliation. All that the international community can do is to encourage and facilitate dialogue. Whether or not a durable *modus vivendi* can be worked out from these efforts depends ultimately upon the political will of the parties concerned to make peace and come to terms with one another. This is why we stress the paramount importance of all concerned in Burundi pursuing dialogue and national reconciliation and the imperative need for them to do so.

Given that the foregoing views of my Government are fully reflected in the draft resolution before us, my delegation will vote in favour of it.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): It is with great concern that the Polish delegation is looking at the current situation in Burundi. The whole international community is deeply concerned. We all seem to agree that the state of internal affairs in Burundi has to improve now, or else it might be too late to prevent it from deteriorating further and finally getting out of control.

It is very discouraging indeed that the observations made by the Security Council's mission to Burundi one year ago are still valid and that, regrettably, new negative factors have emerged. It is deplorable that the majority of the population is suffering because of political rivalries. It is beyond comprehension that violence against aid groups in Burundi has increased. Such acts of violence primarily affect the most vulnerable people — children and women. And what is really tragic is that they discourage further initiatives of a humanitarian nature.

Let me take this opportunity to pay tribute to those who, notwithstanding the cost and the danger, bring relief to the suffering and exhausted people of Burundi. But how much can we expect of them?

My delegation is very grateful to the Secretary-General for his personal involvement and efforts aimed at finding a way of dealing with the crisis in Burundi. We thank the Secretary-General for the information he delivered and also for the initiatives he submitted to the Council. We fully support the sending by the Secretary-General of a technical security mission to Burundi to examine ways of improving security arrangements for United Nations personnel and premises and also for the protection of humanitarian operations.

We are counting heavily on the Secretary-General's efforts to facilitate a comprehensive political dialogue. The value of dialogue was emphasized by President Nyerere and cannot possibly be overestimated. We vividly remember his words, but the basic question we face now is how much time we have. Time is running

out, and we should not let the determination of the international community fade away. After all, millions of lives are at stake.

It is encouraging for us to see the cooperation among the countries of the region, which are vitally interested in achieving peace in Burundi and stability in the whole area. There are many examples of decisive, unanimous and effective cooperation between African States. Therefore, we attach a great deal of hope to this way of looking for a solution, and in this context we welcome the European Union's decision to appoint a special envoy to the region. In any case, those who exercise political influence in Burundi have to realize that cooperation is the solution — cooperation both between political groups in Burundi and with the international community, which is desperately trying to help.

In conclusion, let me state that Poland fully supports the draft resolution under consideration.

Mr. Lopes da Rosa (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): We wish to express our satisfaction at the efforts being deployed by the Secretary-General, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union and all those who are contributing to the search for peace in Burundi.

The situation in that brotherly nation is of great concern to my country, which has always upheld the principles of national reconciliation by peaceful means.

Guinea-Bissau once again welcomes the Convention of Government of 10 September 1994, which constitutes an institutional framework for national reconciliation in Burundi, and we support the governmental institutions established pursuant to its provisions as well as the Cairo Conference of Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region, whose final decisions have had most important implications for the situation of refugees and displaced persons in that region of Africa.

We must acknowledge that despite the slowness of the process of national reconciliation in Burundi, some progress has been made in the framework of efforts aimed at a *rapprochement* between all the peoples of Burundi and at the establishment of peace and lasting stability in the Great Lakes region, and in this brotherly nation in particular.

Once again we support the efforts of the Secretary-General, as well as those of other entities aimed at facilitating a comprehensive political dialogue in order to promote national reconciliation, democracy, security and the rule of law in Burundi.

In this context, we call once again upon all parties concerned to refrain from any action that could undermine the process of national reconciliation and to commit themselves without delay to a dialogue in a positive and constructive spirit.

We wish to emphasize the importance we attach to the continued provision of humanitarian aid for refugees and displaced persons in Burundi. For this reason, we believe that without a guarantee of security, agencies of the United Nations and of non-governmental organizations will not be able to fulfil their humanitarian assistance mission in that country.

In this regard, we welcome the intention of the High Commissioner for Refugees to create a permanent mechanism for consultations on security measures between the Government of Burundi, the United Nations and non-governmental organizations.

On the basis of that position, Guinea-Bissau will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council. We hope it will cast a ray of hope even though the process of national reconciliation in our brother country is at an impasse.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/56.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1040 (1996).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Today the Security Council sends a clear message to all the people of Burundi: the violence must stop.

In a letter to the Burundian President, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, that I personally carried to Burundi for President Clinton, the American President called on all Burundians to reject extremism and resolve their differences peacefully. The United States will not support, recognize, or provide assistance to any government that comes to power by force in Burundi. Indeed, the United States would lead an effort to isolate such a regime.

Escalating violence in Burundi has pitted the Tutsi minority against the Hutu majority, resulting in widespread human rights abuses. A wave of killings has claimed the lives of hundreds of civilians each week, and the Tutsi-dominated military and its auxiliary forces have driven many Hutus out of the capital, Bujumbura. A rural Hutu insurgency is fighting back, targeting both Tutsi civilians and the military. According to the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, a smouldering civil war is spreading further and further in Burundi, giving rise to an increasingly marked genocidal trend.

Aid workers fear for their lives in Burundi. Security for humanitarian workers must be increased or they will have to leave the country. The United States calls on the Government of Burundi to guarantee the safety of aid workers.

The United States deplores the continuing instability and violence in Burundi. The United States, along with other donor countries, is seeking ways to defuse tensions in that country. The United States urges the leaders of Burundi to isolate the extremists and seek a lasting peace. Ultimately, it is the people of Burundi who have it in their hands to prevent their country from falling into an abyss. It is up to the Burundians to ensure that Burundi does not commit national suicide.

Mr. Rudolph (Germany): Germany is extremely concerned about the situation in Burundi. There is reason to fear that there may be a dramatic escalation. We are therefore satisfied that the Security Council, in the resolution it has just adopted, gives a clear and strong signal to those who are encouraging ethnic violence in that country. In this context, Germany associates itself fully with the statement Italy made earlier on behalf of the European Union.

As a first step to calm the situation, the political actors in Burundi will have to engage in a comprehensive dialogue. No important element of the political spectrum should be left out, in order not to endanger such a process. Such a dialogue, in the view of my Government, should prepare the ground for establishing the rule of law, peace, security and democracy.

At the same time, all parties are called upon to refrain immediately from all acts of violence. The international community will not tolerate any further deterioration.

Germany fully supports the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General, by the Organization of African Unity, by the European Union and by the facilitators to bring about the conditions necessary for a political dialogue in Burundi. We will do all we can to support them in their consultations with the political actors in Burundi.

Those who continue to encourage ethnic violence in Burundi or who refuse to enter into a comprehensive dialogue will have to face the sanctions of the international community. In this context, we support the call to cooperate in the identification and dismantling of radio stations which incite hatred and acts of violence in Burundi.

The Secretary-General is requested to report to the Security Council by 20 February 1996 on efforts to facilitate a comprehensive dialogue and preventive actions that may be necessary in order to prevent the situation from deteriorating further. My Government stands ready to consider the proposals the Secretary-General will make and, if necessary, to consider the imposition of measures under the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Shkourko (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): Russia is gravely concerned at the most alarming situation in Burundi. Information from that country indicates that Burundi is becoming ever more bogged down in a quagmire of bloody violence and chaos; this could lead to a full-scale civil war fraught with ruinous consequences for the people of Burundi and for the region as a whole.

In the view of the Russian delegation, the tragic situation taking shape in Burundi dictates that the international community urgently draw up a set of agreed measures to stop the further escalation of violence and to get the parties to the conflict in Burundi to resume a broad political dialogue in the interests of stability and

national reconciliation. We consider it to be of the greatest importance that, as these measures are implemented, African countries and the peace-keeping machinery of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should play an authoritative role, with appropriate support from the United Nations.

The Russian delegation voted in favour of resolution 1040 (1996), just adopted by the Security Council unanimously, for we believe that the resolution sends a crystal-clear signal to all the parties in Burundi that the international community cannot stand by and watch extremist forces in that country, through their irresponsible actions, push the people onto the path of national suicide. The resolution sternly warns extremists of all stripes that, should they continue to block dialogue and the peace process in Burundi, the Security Council will be obliged to enact selective, preventive enforcement measures. We assume that this warning will prove adequate to the current situation.

We urgently call on all parties to the conflict in Burundi to show common sense, to stop the violence immediately and to sit down at the negotiating table in order to speedily achieve a mutually acceptable settlement that will be in the interests of restoring lasting peace, stability and development. For its part, the international community will be prepared to provide the necessary assistance and support in that endeavour.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): France is most concerned at the deterioration of the situation in Burundi. The conclusion of the Convention of Government had laid the grounds for understanding, which should have made it possible to ease tension and restore the rules of democracy. My Government, which had hailed that progress, still believes that the Convention of Government is the keystone of political and institutional balance in Burundi.

The resolution, in favour of which France voted, attests to the interest and concern of the Security Council for the situation in Burundi. We cannot remain indifferent to the evidence of violence that comes to us daily, the violation of the rules of democracy and the abuses carried out by extremists: we must react.

For its part, France encourages dialogue and calls upon all Burundians to renounce violence and cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and anyone else who could serve as a facilitator of dialogue. We would be happy if African statesmen, whose wisdom is uncontestable, agreed to play that role. We pay tribute to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to the outstanding actions in the field by OAU civilian and military observers. Finally, the European Union is also engaged in intensive diplomatic efforts, and is planning to name a special envoy for the Great Lakes region.

While encouraging dialogue, which is the logical path towards a solution to this crisis, our Council is also ready to consider any measures that might prevent a deterioration of the situation. The delivery of humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons is a priority, and we therefore believe it necessary to ensure that such assistance be given the best possible protection. We therefore await with interest the conclusions of the technical mission that the Secretary-General has dispatched to the scene.

We are also grateful to the Secretary-General for giving priority to all possible preventive-diplomacy measures. The Council's request for consideration of new steps in no way prejudges the decision it will take, nor, *a fortiori*, the participation of our country in a possible operation. Finally, if the Council expresses its readiness to consider the adoption of restrictive measures against those who would continue to resort to violence, it must be clear that our role is not to punish Burundi. On the contrary, our concern is to help Burundi overcome the serious crisis it is experiencing.

The coming weeks are important for Burundi. All the opportunities for peace and dialogue that the international community is supporting must be taken advantage of so that this country can return to the rules of democracy and the rule of law.

Finally we can not fail to emphasize once again that the crisis affecting Burundi is part of the greater framework of difficulties confronting the Great Lakes region. This is why we continue to believe that there will soon be a need to convene a conference on peace, security and stability in the Great Lakes region in order to resolve the region's problems as a whole.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United Kingdom.

The events in Burundi which have inspired this resolution are a matter of grave concern to the British Government. As this resolution makes clear, a lasting and durable solution to the situation in Burundi can be found

only through a comprehensive political dialogue in support of the principles of the Convention of Government. We should like to reaffirm our support for the Government of Burundi in its efforts to sustain the principles of the Convention of Government, which sets the framework within which the parties in Burundi should work together to promote stability and the rule of law in that country.

The international community is in our view rightly focusing its efforts on facilitating such dialogue and on preventive action designed to avert a further worsening of the situation in Burundi. The Secretary-General, and through him Mr. Faguy, the Special Representative in Burundi, as well as former President Nyerere, who was appointed a facilitator by the Cairo Conference of Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region, have our strong support. We also welcome the role played by the Organization of African Unity and its observers in Burundi. It is right that those in the region should play an active part in addressing this problem. We pay particular tribute to those neighbouring Governments that have offered sanctuary to persons fleeing the violence.

Since the tragic events of 1993, a climate of insecurity and fear has prevailed in Burundi, perpetuated by those who use undemocratic means to undermine the institutions of government. In adopting this resolution, the Council is sending a clear message that it condemns those responsible for the daily killings and other violence in Burundi. It is particularly abhorrent that violence is directed against those that are least able to protect themselves — the refugees and the displaced persons in Burundi — and at those who seek to ensure the continued delivery of humanitarian relief. Such actions must stop. We welcome the sending of a technical security mission to Burundi to examine ways of improving security arrangements so that humanitarian operations can continue.

This resolution makes clear the Council's readiness to take measures against those who seek to determine Burundi's future by violence. The message to them is clear. States, particularly those bordering Burundi, can now help by preventing activity in their territory by extremist groups that seek to incite violence in Burundi. This is particularly true in the case of the so-called hate radio stations.

The resolution also makes clear that the international community is intensifying its efforts to avert a further worsening of the situation in Burundi. In this context, we must not be unprepared for the possibility of a further worsening in the violence. Further steps of a preventive nature may be necessary if leaders, both within and outside the country, do not participate in or support the efforts currently in train to achieve national reconciliation and lasting stability in Burundi. We fully support, therefore, the request made to the Secretary-General to consider, following consultations as appropriate with the Organization of African Unity and the Member States concerned, further preventive steps, and to develop contingency plans as appropriate. In our mind, no option is ruled out in principle.

I resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3624

Security Council

Fifty-first Year

Provisional

3624th Meeting

Monday, 29 January 1996, 5.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Sir John Weston	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	Chile	Mr. Searle
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Egypt	Mr. Elaraby
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Lopes da Rosa
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Casardi
	Poland	Mr. Wlosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shkourko
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Liberia

Fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1996/47 and Add.1)

96-85107 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Liberia

Fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (S/1996/47 and Add.1)

The President: In accordance with the decision taken at the 3,621st meeting, I welcome the distinguished Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government and request the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency to his seat.

Mr. Alhaji G.V. Kromah, Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government, was escorted to a seat at the Security Council table.

The President: The Security Council began its consideration of this item at the 3,621st meeting, on 25 January 1996. The Council will now resume its consideration of the item.

Members of the Council have before them the fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, documents S/1996/47 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/57, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government, His Excellency Alhaji G.V. Kromah, on whom I now call.

Mr. Kromah (Liberia): I bring the members of the Security Council fraternal greetings from my Government and people. We are grateful for the support that the United Nations continues to demonstrate for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in Liberia. Indeed, for half a century now the United Nations has remained the hope of the universal human family, struggling in most cases to defend the deprived and to enhance the inalienable mission of humankind.

We in Liberia are indeed thankful to almighty God for preserving our nationhood and sovereignty during the past six years, most of which have witnessed a devastating and tragic war, clearly generated by internal and external interests. More than ever before in this running saga of hardship for our people, there is hope now for lasting peace. The leaders and the people of Liberia have no choice but to obey the call of reality: live in peace or live no more.

Consequently, the various peace accords brokered by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and witnessed by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity have culminated in a unified Government in Monrovia, with all parties to the conflict participating. The Liberian Government, headed by a six-man Collective Presidency called the Council of State, has established the hope that full normality will be restored in Liberia. The principle of collective fate is today working so heavily in favour of peace that I and my colleagues on the Council of State consider the peace process now to be irreversible, no matter what happens and no matter what one hears or sees.

Our objective is not to impress any powerful nation or the international community that we are making progress. Our target is realistic in that we Liberians were the direct and immediate victims of the conflict and are equally the front-line and immediate beneficiaries of any resulting peace and democracy. This is the basis of the goodwill, sincerity and commitment that must necessarily be demonstrated by the Liberian side of the conflict.

I make reference to a Liberian side because there is a non-Liberian side to the problem and its resolution. It is common knowledge that Liberia cannot produce weapons or ammunition; and yet these have been present in abundant quantity and sophisticated quality to inflict the calamity at hand. There were also all sorts of sanctions imposed on Liberia, and yet everything prohibited found its way into the country. Even the planning and activities that immediately preceded the war were not information and knowledge exclusive to Liberians. At the peak of the war, invisible hands were felt under and on top of the debris. Yet it was convenient to say the Liberian conflict was an internal matter and needed to be resolved by Liberians alone.

Technically, that declaration was correct. Notwithstanding the acts of external commission or omission, the Liberian people had the ultimate responsibility to reject undesirable influences, whether

internal or external. I assure the Security Council that we have learned our lessons. And from these lessons we are optimistic that our country has a new opportunity to develop faster and better; a new opportunity to build according to our legitimate taste and size; a new opportunity to convert the bitterness, mutual distrust and suspicion, prejudice and hatred into elements of unity and prosperity. We are coerced by our immediate past to achieve peace and democracy.

With this vision, we are not surprised by the reporting of a *New York Times* journalist, who, after having spent less than 10 hours in Monrovia several days ago, considers our reference to an emerging renaissance in Liberia as an example of our "going out of our mind." The journalist in question is not alone in his analysis. His opinion is certainly shared by those who are equally impatient over appreciating the complexity of the Liberian conflict, who prefer to confine their perceptions to the surface of the problem and yet venture to appear to be making profound analyses of the situation and its current status.

It is important to note that more than 65 per cent of fighters in the various warring factions in Liberia are relatives of more than half a million refugees and of nearly an equal number of displaced Liberians. Let me therefore assure the Council that the vast majority of these fighters want to disarm this very minute.

That is one of the fundamental reasons why the warring party leaders hastened to sign the Abuja Agreement, which brought the current Government into office. Upon our inauguration on 1 September last year, we immediately invited the Field Commander and staff of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to the Executive Mansion and clearly indicated our readiness for the deployment of the peace- keepers and the subsequent disarmament of our fighters. The Field Commander was very blunt and simply told us that he was not ready, due to the lack of logistics and additional manpower.

We quickly launched a campaign to sensitize the international community to the need to fulfil its promises to cooperate with the Liberian peace process. The Government of Liberia took the lead in this public relations drive and, thanks to the overwhelming impetus of ECOWAS and the United Nations, a donors conference was subsequently organized by the Secretary-General in conjunction with the ECOWAS Chairman, President J.J. Rawlings of Ghana. We hope that the initial pledges made at that conference here in New York will not only be fulfilled expeditiously, but that further consideration will be given to the rest of the expenditure requirement, which will be useful in aborting and preventing the regrettable and undue military and political hiccups in the peace process.

A key factor in paving the way for peace and guaranteed elections in Liberia is disarmament. In addition to the efforts of the Government that I have already mentioned, we have set up the National Disarmament and Demobilization Commission (NDDC), empowered, among other things, to educate and inform all of the combatants about the timetable for deployment and disarmament, as well as to explain the process of reintegration into the larger community. The NDDC, composed of senior warring party officers and civilians, seems properly poised to have a positive impact on the fighters.

Deployment of the peace-keepers has started, and we expect the completion of this exercise, accompanied by the backing promised by the international community, to set the real pace for disarmament. It is not only ECOMOG that is underequipped, but also the Liberian Government and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), the two other institutions that are required by the peace agreements to implement various relevant provisions of the accords. We hear the good news of more helicopters coming for UNOMIL, but the chronic need for UNOMIL to prepare the assembly sites and to marshal the provision of food for the disengaged soldiers is another determining factor in disarming the fighters. The logistical strength of the NDDC and other relevant institutions of the Government is also decisive in the disarmament exercise. We have submitted preliminary packages for these programmes.

Equally important is adherence to the provision in the agreements that there shall be no use of the communications media or other methods to propagate hostility between the warring groups. There is presently an internal campaign being orchestrated in Monrovia to make future political capital, in the midst of the current military arrangements to disarm. With the Council's support, the Government of Liberia intends to deal with this matter amicably and properly.

We are studying a strategy whereby the Government will encourage consultation and dialogue with civic and political groups on major issues, in a bid to find common ground. This, we hope, will improve the security psychology, and reduce feelings of isolation.

I turn to the question of the aid channel. In troubled spots around the world, this decade has seen the proliferation, rapid expansion and deployment of international non-governmental organizations through which massive bilateral, institutional and international funding has been channelled. Along with certain specialized agencies of the United Nations, these non-governmental organizations have effectively been in exclusive charge not only of receiving funds, but of determining, in many cases, where in their country of assignment they want to be. Less than half of their budgets serves as assistance for the declared targets and beneficiaries. There is certainly a need for adjustment in these arrangements and attitudes.

My next subject is the election programme. One of the best things the Liberian people expect to gain from their bitter experience is guaranteed elections for national and local officials of the government. This is provided for in the peace agreements as a final stage following deployment, disarmament, repatriation of refugees and registration of voters.

At this point, we are seeing only marginal international interest in the election programme. We appeal for greater assistance and encouragement: everything must be done to ensure that we have the type of elections that will engender lasting peace.

Many of us in the current Government are impatient with the form of government which has been put together with the sole aim of bringing peace to our nation.

I come now to the matter of public services. While endeavouring to manage the business of disarmament, the Liberian Government also has the mandate and the obligation to supervise the provision of basic public services. Public expectations here are high, and the demands on those services are no less so. All these variables affect the nature of the peace process: local politicians are making full use of the strains and gaps in public services to strengthen their individual positions, as if these were normal times. The Government has therefore implored its vital agencies and institutions to confront face on the basic economic and other problems at the root of reconstruction.

In the past few months, Liberia has reinforced relations with the International Monetary Fund and held discussions with the World Bank, the African Development Bank and other multilateral creditors. The discussions have been centred on the need to provide technical assistance for capacity-building. In the meantime, the Government is putting in place certain minimum fiscal policies intended to improve tax and revenue administration and check government spending. A debt-relief strategy is also being designed, with the assistance of the multilateral institutions.

In the public safety area, we have given priority to the police and other civic-oriented institutions to cater to the social and other problems attendant on a society at war with itself. An effective and efficient police service will not only raise the public's confidence and sense of security, but will also provide a proper substitute for the warring factions as the first line of contact with civilians throughout the Liberian countryside.

Delivery of basic health care and provision of safe drinking water, together with the supply of electricity, particularly in the densely populated city of Monrovia, have also become priority concerns for the Government. We are encouraging the privatization of important components of the public service institutions as a measure to speed up recovery in these areas.

An inter-ministerial economic management committee is now carrying out a special study on how natural resources can be utilized to the full for reconstruction, taking into consideration the crucial mistakes that were made in the past.

In conclusion, my colleagues and I in Liberia's Collective Presidency are not under the illusion that this Government is the panacea for Liberia's problems; nor do we believe that the United Nations should do for Liberia what Liberians can do and ought to do for themselves.

On behalf of all my colleagues, I can say that we take the blame for the past and will take the blame for the future: we accept the responsibility of restructuring our country, shoulder to shoulder with our compatriots. It is only natural that the United Nations and the rest of the international community should assume their moral obligations towards Liberia as a founding member of the United Nations and as a place where human beings live.

We are particularly delighted by the fact that, since our Government was installed in September last year, the United Nations has been pleased to send us important visitors, led by the Secretary General himself, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, followed by the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Her Excellency Mrs. Madeleine Albright, and the United Nations

Development Programme Administrator, Mr. James Gustave Speth. The members of the Collective Presidency had extremely useful exchanges with these visitors in an atmosphere of mutual respect. The Government was left with the distinct impression that these visitors fully appreciated the level of commitment to the peace process of the members of the Presidency, three of whom are the leaders of the key warring parties.

It is unfortunate that the mass media have portrayed the United States Ambassador as having gone to Monrovia to issue instructions and orders to us, when in fact the scenario was quite respectful and encouraging.

Liberia is the portion of God's planet that has been given to us. We almost lost it. This has strengthened us. The Economic Community of West African States has done well on behalf of the international system. More than ever before, the United Nations and the individual States concerned should fully identify with our just aspirations at this time: the areas of involvement are clear, and we will do our best to help ourselves, with the Council's solidarity and cooperation.

Mr. Casardi (Italy): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union: Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Lithuania, Slovakia and Cyprus have associated themselves with this statement.

Only five months ago, in August last year, the Liberian factions reached an Agreement in Abuja to put an end to the civil war that had ravaged their country for the previous six years. The Agreement was a turning-point in the efforts to start a process of national reconciliation after a long war that had taken a huge toll on the country: 150,000 people had lost their lives in the endless cycle of violence, and 800,000 people had been forced to leave Liberia. The growing awareness that the six years of war had been completely in vain, the weariness of the people and the deadlock between the factions laid the groundwork for an agreement.

We now have before us a very gloomy and disturbing picture of the peace process as presented to us by the Secretary-General in his latest report. Major violations of the cease-fire have occurred, causing the tragic deaths of a number of African soldiers in the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Allow me to take this opportunity to express the sincere condolences of the European Union to the families and Governments of the soldiers that have lost their lives.

These are sad developments for a unique peace-keeping operation that, for the first time, has been implemented to a large extent through the participation of the military contingents of an African subregional organization deployed side by side with the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). This is why its future success is bound to have wide-ranging implications that will be felt beyond the region immediately concerned.

Despite these tragic developments, and subsequent delays in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, we share the opinion of the Secretary-General that the United Nations and the international community must remain committed to the Liberian peace process and that UNOMIL will have a crucial role to play in that respect. We should not let the entrenched interest of a few individuals, or the passive adjustment of the combatants to a never-ending state of war — they are often teenagers who have known little else in their lives — prevail over the desperate need for peace in this devastated country.

The international community must now urge the Liberian factions to fulfil their obligations and enable the start of an effective disengagement of forces and, in due course, disarmament and demobilization of troops. It is the hope of the European Union that conditions will be in place to hold political elections in the country next August, as scheduled in the Abuja Agreement.

The draft resolution, on which the Council is to take action, clearly spells out that the international community's continued support for the peace process, including the participation of UNOMIL, is contingent upon the commitment of the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation. Their behaviour will be carefully monitored and the leaders will be held responsible for the deeds of their men. The report that the Secretary-General is requested to present by the end of March will provide an opportunity for further scrutiny.

The draft resolution places squarely on the Liberian factions the responsibility to respect the status and ensure the safety of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as of all those engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance. We also appreciate the reference to the importance of respect for human rights and to the need to rehabilitate the penitentiary system in the country.

It is our hope that the easing of tensions will allow regular relief operations to take place throughout the

country. The economic recovery of Liberia should become the first priority, in order to improve the living conditions of its population and to create a climate of greater stability. In this connection, let me recall that the European Union, as a whole, is by far the largest donor of humanitarian, food and rehabilitation assistance to Liberia since 1990. These contributions will also help to rebuild the economic infrastructure of the country, so that Liberia can once again make full use of its natural resources for the benefit of its people.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Let me join you, Sir, in welcoming the distinguished Member of the Liberian Council of State to New York. We have no doubt that the statement he has just made will enrich our appreciation of the current situation in Liberia.

The delegation of Botswana had the opportunity to express its views concerning the situation in Liberia on 25 January 1996, when the Security Council considered the fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) in a formal meeting. The Security Council benefited immensely from the views of the African delegations that participated in that meeting, whose statements reflected their deep concern and frustration at the slow pace in the implementation of the Abuja peace Agreement. The presence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) at that meeting was very welcome.

We were encouraged to learn that the LNTG is determined to pursue the cause of peace, and that it will not allow the unfortunate events of 28 December 1995 to derail the peace process. This position was reinforced by the statements of the representatives of member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) that the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) will stay the course in Liberia until durable peace is attained in that country. This iron determination to succeed, even in the face of adverse conditions, should encourage the international community to assist ECOMOG in the implementation of the peace Agreement, especially in the areas of demobilization and reintegration of former fighters into civilian life.

My delegation is grateful to Ambassador Albright of the United States of America for the information she shared with the Council, following her recent visit to Liberia and other countries. We appreciate the frank and direct manner in which she represented the concerns of the United States to the LNTG and the people of Liberia regarding the delays in the disengagement, disarmament and demobilization of combatants. Botswana shares most of these concerns, and it is our hope that the Liberian political leaders and parties will make concerted efforts to expedite the implementation of the peace Agreement. The Security Council has repeatedly stated that the people of Liberia, especially their leaders, bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation. This means, *inter alia*, that the Liberian factions should desist from reoccupying positions and checkpoints which they had earlier abandoned in the course of the implementation of the peace Agreement. These unacceptable activities can only create distrust and mutual suspicions among the Liberian leaders and parties, which could have undesirable consequences for the peace process. Furthermore, it is a matter of paramount importance that the Liberian factions should urgently give ECOMOG security guarantees to enable it to carry out further deployments. We fully support ECOMOG's decision not to continue with the deployments until the security of their troops is guaranteed.

The peace process in Liberia is at the crossroads. Liberian political leaders and parties must recognize that free and fair elections can only be held in an atmosphere in which peace and stability prevail and in which the safety and security of one and all is assured, and that it is up to them to create such conditions well in advance of the elections. Operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution calls upon them to do so expeditiously. The legislative and presidential elections must not be held in an atmosphere in which the people of Liberia can be threatened with dire consequences if they vote for a particular party of their choice, nor should those who lose at the ballot box have the infrastructure to resort to the bullet box.

Botswana strongly believes that the people of Liberia, like other peoples around the world, deserve to live in peace. They have the right to bring up their children in conditions of peace, to pass on to future generations the values of being good citizens and

productive members of society. We share their hopes and aspirations to be afforded a chance to concentrate their efforts on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their war-torn country and economy. As we extend the mandate of UNOMIL to 31 May 1996, it is our hope that considerable progress will be made in the implementation of the peace Agreement, and that the political leaders and parties in Liberia will not squander this opportunity. There might not be another one.

Mr. Elaraby (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like first to welcome Mr. Kromah, Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government, and to thank him for his extremely complete report, which we all followed with great interest.

The Council's special meeting last week to study the fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia reflects the importance that the international community attaches to the question of Liberia as well as its consensus on the need to assist our brothers in Liberia. In that respect, I should like to thank the Permanent Representative of the United States, Mrs. Albright, for the complete report that she presented to us after her visit to the region.

The Security Council, in approving the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to 31 May 1996, should encourage the political leaders in Liberia to implement the provisions of the Abuja Agreement as quickly as possible so that this opportunity is not lost.

A settlement of the question of Liberia is now at hand. This increases the responsibility of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which should make the greatest possible efforts to promote the peace process and check any attempts dictated by narrow interests or considerations. It is therefore important to grant all necessary assistance to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) so that it can discharge its mission.

The delegation of Egypt calls upon all the Liberian factions and their leaders to ensure the demobilization and disarmament of combatants in order to facilitate their reintegration into civil society, and to allow the United Nations to ensure the deployment of the observers and to increase their number to 160.

Our delegation also urges all Liberians to fully cooperate with UNOMIL and to give it the necessary protection. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the United Nations for the efforts that it is currently making in Liberia and for the technical and humanitarian assistance provided by the international community to the Liberian people. We hope that this will allow for the recovery and reconstruction of Liberia and enable it to resume its proper place, both regionally and internationally.

The Egyptian delegation, convinced of the need to allow the people of Liberia to implement security and stability and to put an end to the sufferings that have gone on since the civil war of 1989, will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Finally, we hope that the progress report to be submitted by the Secretary-General to the Council by the end of March will include positive elements reflecting a real desire for peace.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): At the outset, my delegation would like to welcome the Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government and to express our appreciation for his insightful statement.

It was only last week that the Security Council convened a formal open debate regarding the situation in Liberia, which provided an opportunity for the general membership to actively participate in the discussion of a question of which the Council is actively seized. My delegation sincerely welcomes the convening of such a meeting, for it not only enhanced transparency in the work of the Council, but also permitted Council members to obtain the valuable input and observations of all interested parties — most importantly from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Liberia — necessary for taking the appropriate decision. My delegation therefore hopes that such arrangements will in future be further encouraged.

On that occasion, the Indonesian delegation, together with the other members of the Council, expressed its position. As such, it is the intention of my delegation not to repeat what has already been stated at the formal open debate last week, but to provide a few brief additional remarks on the draft resolution.

In spite of the recent cease-fire violations and armed attacks against the personnel of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group

(ECOMOG) and against civilians, which have caused substantial delays in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, we nevertheless wish to reiterate that we see a ray of hope on the horizon. We are encouraged by the recent steps taken by the Secretary-General to prepare for the legislative and presidential elections, scheduled to take place in August 1996. We also note the recently concluded agreement between the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), establishing the framework for the repatriation and reintegration of refugees. Moreover, cooperation between UNOMIL and the LNTG, as well as with other United Nations agencies and local and international non-governmental organizations, continues to prevail, facilitating support for the Liberian judicial system and human rights groups. And, lastly, a coordinated effort on the part of the international community is beginning to take place to address reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts.

In view of these considerations, my delegation strongly urges the Liberian parties and their leadership to see the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL as an opportunity to strive for substantial progress on all outstanding issues of the peace process, and to demonstrate genuine political will to get the peace process back on track by abiding by and implementing all the agreements and commitments they themselves have concluded. Such measures would allow the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration — a prerequisite for national reconciliation — to be expeditiously undertaken. Moreover, it is our fervent hope that within this period the Liberian leadership will avail itself of the opportunity to also demonstrate its respect for the role of the international, regional and subregional organizations in the peace process.

Another aspect that my delegation considers imperative is that this draft resolution should convey to the parties in Liberia a clear and unequivocal message that support for the peace process by the international community cannot continue indefinitely. This support will undoubtedly be contingent on a demonstrated commitment by the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation, consistent with the objectives of the peace process.

In the light of these observations, the draft resolution before us today enjoys the strong support of the Indonesian delegation, and we will therefore vote in favour of its adoption. We also look forward to the Secretary-General's progress report concerning the progress in disarmament and demobilization, and in planning for elections, as requested in operative paragraph 9.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes at the outset to welcome the Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government and to thank him for participating in the work of the Security Council today.

As it did at the Security Council's meeting to consider the fifteenth report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), my delegation wishes to express its concern at the recent incidents in Liberia — cease-fire violations and attacks against personnel of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) — and at delays in the process of disengagement and disarmament of Liberian forces, which affect the international community's efforts to restore peace, security and stability in that country.

We regret also that those incidents are also having an effect on the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken in the Abuja Agreement, the implementation of which is critical for the future of Liberia. We believe that the leaders of the Liberian factions should demonstrate the political will to support the peace process; they cannot expect ECOWAS and the international community to support the Liberian peace process indefinitely.

The recent armed attack against ECOMOG contingents in the town of Tubmanburg was a serious setback for the peace process and will delay the deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL forces, for which there are now no guarantees of safety. My delegation believes that the security situation in Liberia will improve only if the factions respect the cease-fire; make clear progress in the disengagement of forces; withdraw from checkpoints; permit the community of humanitarian-aid donors to carry out its work freely; cooperate with ECOMOG and UNOMIL in the work of disarmament and demobilization; and strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel.

We hope that the Liberian factions will fulfil all those commitments. It is in that hope that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Lopes da Rosa (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all to welcome His Excellency Alhaji G.V. Kromah, Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government, and to thank him most sincerely for the information he has conveyed to the Council.

During the formal meeting of the Security Council on 25 January 1996, the delegation of Guinea-Bissau expressed its views on the fifteenth progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). We wish none the less to take this opportunity to reaffirm our position and to make a number of comments before the Security Council adopts the draft resolution before it.

My delegation wishes first to express its thanks to Ambassador Albright and her entire delegation for having submitted the draft resolution. We endorse that text because it covers all the concerns expressed in the debate on the report of the Secretary-General. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution, laying particular stress on the fourth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11 and 16.

The delegation of Guinea-Bissau is gravely concerned by the slow implementation of the peace process and by the recent attacks against the troops of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and against the civilian population. We believe that these hostile acts must end immediately so as to enable ECOMOG and UNOMIL to carry out fully their arduous and complex task of maintaining peace and stability in Liberia.

Accordingly, we believe that the status of the personnel of ECOMOG, of UNOMIL and of humanitarian agencies must be strictly respected by all Liberian factions, so that this personnel can continue to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance throughout the country in accordance with the relevant rules of international humanitarian law.

As we have already said, the political will and the firm determination of the parties concerned are critical for the settlement of this conflict. The Liberian parties should respect and fully implement all agreements reached and all the commitments they have undertaken, particularly with respect to the cease-fire and to the disarmament and demobilization of combatants, with a view to national reconciliation. We think this could make an important contribution to ensuring continued support by the international community for the peace process in this brotherly nation.

My delegation appeals urgently to the international community to keep the promises it made at the Conference on Assistance to Liberia, held on 27 October 1995, and to continue to provide financial and logistical assistance to the personnel of ECOMOG and UNOMIL. In that connection, we wish once again to thank all countries that have provided assistance, and we encourage others, within their means, to do likewise.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): I would like to join you, Mr. President, in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Kromah, Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government. I thank him for the informative statement he made here today. It is reassuring to hear from him that the Collective Presidency is committed to achieving a lasting peace.

My Government's views on the situation in Liberia are already known from my statement in the orientation debate last week. I will not repeat them here today. Rather, let me confine myself to stressing a few important points to which my Government attaches particular importance.

First, we commend the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for its central role in restoring peace and stability in Liberia, and we express our appreciation to the troop-contributing countries. We reiterate the importance of close cooperation and coordination between the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), ECOWAS and the Member States concerned for the success of peace-keeping operations in Liberia. This three-way cooperation, in our view, sets an example that can be applied in dealing with other situations in Africa.

Secondly, we call upon all factions in Liberia to abide by their commitments to the peace process as envisaged in the Abuja Agreement. While deploring the recent incident of renewed hostilities, which was a setback to the peace process, we look forward to smooth progress in the disarmament and demobilization of combatants and in their reintegration into civil society.

Thirdly, we reiterate our view that the international community cannot replace the Liberian people's own efforts to achieve peace, national reconciliation and democracy. It is the people and the leaders of Liberia

themselves who are ultimately responsible for rebuilding a land of peace, liberty and prosperity.

In keeping with these remarks, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1996/57.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1041 (1996).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): I am very pleased to see the Member of the Council of State here, Mr. Kromah, having seen him just a few days ago in Monrovia.

The United States supports the extension of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) mandate until 31 May. This support, however, is not without reservations. During my recent visit to Monrovia, I was impressed by the progress that has been made and by the stated commitment of the Council of State to implement the Abuja Agreement. This assurance has been repeated here today in the Security Council by Member Kromah.

But, unfortunately, today we have also heard the representative of Liberia offer many different — and often surprising — explanations for his country's many problems. As the representative surely knows from my visit, the United States and the international community can offer a helping hand, but only Liberians can pull themselves out of the horror of war. I wish to reiterate here what I made very clear in speaking with all the parties in Liberia: the United States and the international community will not tolerate further delay. Now it is time for action. The forces of peace and reconciliation must demonstrate that they are more powerful than those that would wreak further destruction on the innocent Liberian people. Now is the time to implement the key operational provision of the Abuja Agreement: getting the fighters to give up their weapons and rejoin society, while focusing especially on the four-to-six thousand child soldiers. As this resolution makes clear, there must be strict implementation of disarmament and demobilization, with no delays and no deviations from the Abuja Agreement.

The United States recognizes the contribution that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) is now making to bring stability to Liberia. We call on the ECOMOG commanders to deploy their forces as quickly as possible to help create the conditions necessary to promote the peace process. The United States also calls upon the Council of State to redouble its efforts to rapidly move the peace process forward.

I also commend the contributions and sacrifices being made by UNOMIL personnel in Liberia. The United States expects UNOMIL to follow through on all its responsibilities, including investigating and reporting to the Secretary-General on human rights abuses, major violations of international humanitarian law and humanitarian assistance activities. I urge UNOMIL and ECOMOG to maintain close operational contact to ensure that they can effectively accomplish their difficult missions.

Adoption of this resolution extending the UNOMIL mandate is an important demonstration of the Security Council's commitment to restoring peace, stability and the basic conditions for a normal life to the Liberian people. But this commitment demands equal good will from the Liberian side. During this period, my Government will monitor closely the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, which is Liberia's best chance to achieve peace and justice and the key to continued international support. We will view with special interest what the Secretary-General's interim report will say on progress in this regard.

Monrovia is a city of startling contrasts. There are destroyed buildings housing thousands of displaced persons and laundry hanging from the rafters of a trashed Foreign Ministry. At the same time, busy people are trading and trying to make a living and, most impressively, non-governmental organizations programmes are providing training, for a new life, in farming, masonry or plumbing. These contrasts are as stark as the difference between the past and the future.

My impression from being there is that the people are ready for the future, and the leaders must not delay in letting them have it. Only then will there be a true renaissance in Liberia.

In the presence of one of the Members of Liberia's Council of State, I wish to re-emphasize the crucial role that Liberia's leaders must play in this process. Their failure to act will endanger further assistance from the international community. Their neighbours in West Africa and the entire international community have created an opportunity for peace and a return to democracy. They must seize it now. You must seize it now.

Mr. Rudolph (Germany): My delegation would also like to welcome the distinguished Member of the Collective Presidency of the Liberian National Transitional Government, Alhaji G. V. Kromah, and to thank him for sharing with us his views on the situation in Liberia.

Germany voted in favour of extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 31 May 1996. We had already made our position clear on the occasion of the public debate last week. We would like, however, to restate some of the points we made on that occasion. In this context, Germany fully supports the statement made by Italy on behalf of the European Union.

We have to insist that Liberia must make substantive progress in the peace process by the end of the present mandate. This should prove that the Abuja Agreement can be the lasting foundation for a peace settlement in Liberia. We continue, however, to be extremely concerned at the lack of progress achieved in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. We have not been able to observe any concrete steps during recent months. The parties in Liberia have fallen several months behind the agreed schedule. Furthermore, the recent outbreak of fighting is a severe setback to the efforts undertaken by the international community to mediate in the Liberian conflict.

In this context, we would like to make clear once again that the cessation of hostilities is also essential for any reconstruction and development measures by which the international community might help Liberia and its people overcome the devastating consequences of the civil war. The warring parties are called upon to make up for the delays already incurred in the peace process. 31 May 1996 is the deadline for this. Until then, the political will of the parties to achieve tangible progress will have to be monitored very carefully. If there is no visible progress soon with regard to maintaining the cease-fire, disengagement of troops and disarmament, we will have difficulty supporting a further extension of the mandate of UNOMIL. The warring parties would be responsible for this.

We welcome, however, the fact that the factions represented in the Council of State seem determined to adhere to the Abuja Agreement, and we urge them to exert the necessary control over their military forces. A wider deployment of ECOMOG throughout the country should be a necessary accompanying measure, and it will be an important stabilizing factor for the country as a whole. In this context, my Government would like to emphasize the important and useful role which ECOMOG has been playing, and we would like to thank the troop-contributing countries.

The President: There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.